

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11
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R 190713Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1520
INFO AMEMBASSY BUCAHREST
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMCONSUL MUNICH

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2051

E.O.11652: GDS
TAGS: PEPR PINT SHUM HU RO
SUBJECT: DISSATISFACTION OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA -
TAKACS MEMORANDUM

REF: VIENNA 4024

1. SUMMARIZED BELOW ARE THE CONTENTS OF A MEMORANDUM
REPORTEDLY SENT CEAUSESCU BY ONE LAJOS TAKACS DETAILING
CERTAIN COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF THE HUNGARIAN
MINORITY IN ROMANIA. END SUMMARY.

2. EMBASSY HAS RECEIVED FROM A SOURCE IN THE HUNGARIAN
INTELLECTUAL COMMUNITY A COPY OF THE MEMORANDUM LAJOS
TAKACS (IDENTIFIED AS VICE PRESIDENT OF THE ROMANIAN COUNCIL
OF NATIONALITIES) IS REPORTED TO HAVE SENT TO PRESIDENT
CEAUSESCU. OUR SOURCE IS NOT GYULA ILLYES BUT ONE OF A
GROUP OF YOUNGER HUNGARIAN INTELLECTUALS WHO, WHILE IN
TOUCH WITH ILLYES, HAVE INDEPENDENTLY TAKEN IT UPON THEM-
SELVES TO PUBLICIZE LOT OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IN ROMANIA.
ONE OF MEMBERS OF THIS GROUP WAS PROMINENT SIGNER OF
LETTER IN SUPPORT OF CHARTER 77 SENT LAST YEAR BY
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HUNGARIAN INTELLECTUALS.

3. OUR INFORMATION ABOUT MEMO IS NOT COMPLETE.
WHILE WE UNDERSTAND IT WAS WRITTEN BY TAKACS AND DIE
PRESSE ARTICLE (REFTEL) DISCUSSING REPORT STATES IT
ADDRESSED TO CEAUSESCU, COPY WE HAVE IS NOT ADDRESSED
TO ANYONE IN PARTICULAR. ONE OF OPENING PARAGRAPHS

REFERERS TO "WE THE UNDERSIGNED," BUT THE COPY WE HAVE IS NOT SIGNED. SEVEN-PAGE INTROUDUCTION LAUDS RCP PROGRESS ON NATIONALITY QUESTION SINCE WORLD WAR II AND STRESSES MAGYAR LOYALTY TO GDR AND RCP. THE INTRO- DUTION IS FOLLOWED BY MAJOR SECTIONS ON CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL QUESTIONS, THE HUNGARIAN NATIONALITY COUNCIL OF WORKERS, LANGUAGE INSTRUCTION IN THE MOTHER TONGUE, EMPLOYMENT OF THE MOTHER TONGUE IN HIGHER EDUCATION, GENERAL CULTURAL PROBLEMS, POLITICAL ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS AND, FINALLY, CONCLUSIONS AND PROPOSALS.

4. HEART OF GRIEVANCES AND PROPOSALS CONCERN NEED FOR INCREASED EDUCATION IN HUNGARIAN AND OTHER MEASURES TO FOSTER VITALITY OF HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE AND ASSURE EQUAL OPPORTUNITIES FOR HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE SPEAKERS. AT SAME TIME, TAKACS MEMORANDUM ADMITS ALL MAGYARS SHOULD LEARN TO SPEAK ROMANIAN AND ADVOCATES INCREASED EDUCATION OF ADULT MAGYARS IN ROMANIAN LANGUAGE. PAR- TICULAR STRESS IS LAID UPON DECREASE IN HUNGARIAN STUDENTS IN UNIVERSITY LEVEL IN SCIENCE, LAW, CHEMIS- TRY, ETC. (BUT NOT MEDICINE) SINCE EXCLUSIVE UNIVER- SITY LEVEL INSTITUTIONS FOR HUNGARIANS WERE ABOLISHED IN FAVOR OF UNIVERSITIES WHERE INSTRUCTION WOULD BE IN BOTH ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN. STATISTICS ARE DRAMATIC AND ALSO SHOW DECREASE IN NUMBER OF HUNGA- RIAN TEACHERS AND FACT THAT FEW HAVE BEEN ADDED TO

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STAFFS OF THESE SCHOOLS OVER PAST P20 YEARS. TAKACS POINTS OUT WHILE NUMBER OF UNIVERSITY-LEVEL STUDENTS IN ROMANIA HAS DOUBLED IN PAST 20 YEARS NUMBER OF HUNGARIAN STUDENTS HAS INCREASED BY ONLY TEN PER CENT. REMEDY ADVOCATED IS THAT EACH UNIVERSITY WHICH NOW HAS INSTRUCTION IN BOTH ROMANIAN AND HUNGARIAN ACCORDING TO SUBJECT BEING TAUGHT BE DIVIDED INTO SEPARATE SECTIONS WITH ALL INSTRUCTION IN EACH SECTION BEING IN MOTHER TONGUE OF STUDENTS IN THAT SECTION.

5. AUSTRIAN PRESS ARTICLE REPORTED REFTEL GIVES ACCURATE SUMMARY OF MAJOR PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD IN TAKACS MEMORANDUM. THAT SUMMARY, HOWEVER, DOES NOT MENTION TWO MAJOR DEMANDS: (1) THAT EACH NATIONALITY BE REPRESENTED PROPORTIONATELY IN ALL DECISION-MAKING ORGANS OF PARTY AND STATE AND (2) THAT THE POLICY OF DISPERSING NATIONALITY CADRES TO ALL THE VARIOUS TERRITORIES OF ROMANIA BE BROUGHT TO AN END IN FAVOR OF ASSIGNING MORE NATIONALITY CADRE TO WORK IN THEIR HOME TERRITORY. DIE PRESSE ARTICLE ALSO COULD NOT CONVEY FULLY THE COMPREHENSIVENESS AND DETAIL OF TAKACS MEMORANDUM'S ELABORATION OF DEFICIENCIES AND

OF PROPOSED REMEDIES IN TREATMENT OF MINORITY NATIONALITIES IN ROMANIA. SOME OTHER MATTERS TOUCHED ON WERE IMPROVEMENT OF MINORITY LIBRARIES, DECENTRALIZATION OF DECISION MAKING ON CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL MATTERS, IDEOLOGICAL INSTRUCTION IN HUNGARIAN, INCREASED PUBLICATION OF TECHNICAL BOOKS AND PERIODICALS, AND INCREASED CIRCULATION OF HUNGARIAN NEWSPAPERS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2051

6. TAKACS MEMORANDUM PREFACES ITS PROPOSALS BY REFERRING TO FACT THAT MINORITY QUESTIONS ARE BEING GIVEN INCREASED INTERNATIONAL ATTENTION AND NUMEROUS INTERNATIONAL BODIES ARE DEALING WITH SUCH MATTERS. REFERENCE IS MADE IN PARTICULAR TO THE UN AND CSCE IN THIS CONNECTION. TAKACS CLAIMS THAT, WHILE SOCIALIST ROMANIA HAS MANY ACHIEVEMENTS OF WHICH IT CAN BE PROUD IN DEVELOPING MINORITY RIGHTS, DEFICIENCIES HAVE APPEARED. THESE DO NOT ALTER THE SOUNDNESS OF THE RCP'S BASIC NATIONALITY POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES, HE WRITES. HOWEVER, "THESE DEFICIENCIES DISTURB THE MORE THAN TWO MILLION PEACEFUL CITIZENS BELONGING TO THE NATIONALITIES AND SPREAD DOUBT AND SUSPICION IN THEIR WAKE, ENCOURAGING DIVISIVE ELEMENTS. THESE DEFICIENCIES ALSO SERVE AS OPPORTUNITIES FOR FOREIGN OPPOSITION ELEMENTS WHICH WITH EXAGGERATIONS SMEAR OUR COUNTRY AND UNDERMINE ITS INTERNATIONAL RESPECT." THEREFORE, THE MEMORANDUM ARGUES, THE RCP LEADERSHIP SHOULD EXAMINE THE MINORITY QUESTION AND TAKE THE NECESSARY MEASURES TO PUT IT RIGHT.

7. ACCORDING EMBASSY'S HUNGARIAN SOURCE, TAKACS
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MEMORANDUM WAS STIMULATED BY EARLIER KIRALY LETTER TO CEAUSESCU. MEMORANDUM WAS WRITTEN IN LATE DECEMBER. FACED WITH PRIOR EXAMPLE OF KIRALY AND TAKACS, JANOS FAZEKAS, RCP POLITBURO MEMBER AND NOMINAL LEADER OF HUNGARIAN MINORITY IS SAID TO HAVE BEEN FORCED TO ACT AND SUBMIT HIS OWN RECOMMENDATIONS TO RCP AND CEAUSESCU (THE SECOND LETTER REFERRED TO IN THE DIE PRESSE STORY). EMBASSY SOURCES ARE NOT AWARE OF CONTENTS OF "FAZEKAS LETTER." THEY SEEM TO REGARD IT, HOWEVER, AS GENUINE ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE IMPETUS FOR IMPROVING MAGYARS' LOT IN ROMANIA. HUNGARIANS HERE BELIEVE THAT FAZEKAS IS A WEAK LEADER AND COULD NOT HAVE RISEN TO TOP IN ROMANIAN LEADERSHIP IF HE HAD NOT KOWTOWED TO ROMANIAN MAJORITY. THEY ARE NEVERTHELESS HOPEFUL THAT NOW THAT A GENUINE LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITY HAS BEEN FORCED UPON HIM HE MAY SHOW BACKBONE AND DRIVE ON BEHALF OF HIS HUNGARIAN CONSTITUENCY.

8. THE THIRD LETTER IN THE DIE PRESSE STORY, THE SUTO LETTER WAS A REPORT HASTILY PREPARED AT URGENT REQUEST OF RCP CENTRAL COMMITTEE, WE UNDERSTAND. IT IS SAID TO BE A STUDY OF PROBLEM OF EDUCATION IN HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE. IT WAS PREPARED AFTER THE FAZEKAS LETTER. WE ARE UNFAMILIAR WITH ITS RECOMMENDATIONS. SUTO IS REGARDED BY HUNGARIANS HERE AS SINCERELY MOTIVATED AND KNOWLEDGEABLE BUT CAUTIOUS OUT OF A DESIRE TO PRESERVE HIS ABILITY TO WRITE, BE PUBLISHED, AND HAVE HIS PLAYS PERFORMED.

9. EMBASSY IS POUCHING TO DEPARTMENT INR/RES//EE AND EUR/EE COPIES OF FAZEKAS MEMORANDUM. EUR/EE IS REQUESTED TO HAVE IT TRANSLATED AND ENGLISH TEXTS RETURNED TO EMBASSY BUCHAREST AND BUDAPEST. WE HAVE
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PROMISED OUR SOURCE NOT TO SHOW COPY OF DOCUMENT TO OUR LOCAL STAFF AND THEREFORE CANNOT USE OUR OWN TRANSLATOR.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
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Draft Date: 19 may 1978
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Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
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